

PROCEEDINGS

**National
Youth Anti-War
Congress**



**YOUTH COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR
22 EAST 17th STREET, NEW YORK CITY**

THE CHALLENGE OF 1940



Whether you wind up in Flanders' Fields depends on you.

Whether you will live in a world where war is a forgotten word, and jobs are facts instead of hopes, depends on you.

We don't have to get into this war. It's not an easy job to keep out, because we have to struggle against some of the most powerful forces in our lopsided social order. But it can be done.

Over 450 young people who poured into Chicago during the Christmas holidays to represent 2,200,000 of their contemporaries at the National Youth Anti-War Congress affirmed their convictions that it can be done. They went forth with a new determination, born of comradeship and common purpose, to keep America out of war, to build a lasting security, to help bring into being a warless world. The story of their plans and deliberations you will find in the pages to follow. But the energy and vision and drive which characterized their meetings cannot be reflected adequately by the cold type of a printed page.

In the coming year we have a job to do, we in the Youth Committee Against War. There is really only one force which can stay America's drift toward war, which can halt the government's effort to create a war economy. And that is the pressure of the many thousands of us.

We've got to do this job together. And that is why, in the ultimate analysis, whether you wind up in Flanders' Fields depends on you.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE LIMITED NATIONAL EMERGENCY

CHAIRMAN: GLORIA WALDRON RAPPAPORT, *Field Secretary*,
Women's International League

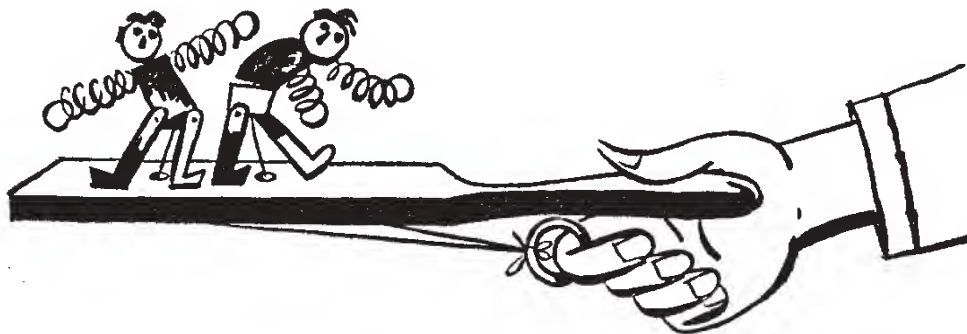
RESOURCE

LEADERS: DON SMUCKER, *Youth Secretary*, Fellowship of
Reconciliation

JUDAH DROB, *National Secretary*, Young People's
Socialist League

MODERN war is totalitarian war. Every resource in a nation must be regimented to further the prosecution of the war. Freedom of speech and of action must inevitably be sacrificed to the growing greed of the war machine.

The record of civil liberties in the world war period is a tragic one. In the United States, the war and post-war years were characterized by restrictions on civil liberties, both legal and extra-legal, the persecution of conscientious and political objectors, and the development of mass violence against minority groups. It is significant that in those sections of America where the anti-war movement was strongest, repression was the least severe — for example, in New York City, where the Federal Government was unable to jail prominent objectors as in other sections. This is also true in the war today. Repression is least severe today in Great Britain, where the peace forces are the strongest.



Today, even more than in the world of 1914-1920, civil liberties have disappeared in the belligerent nations and in their empires. In France, regimentation has proceeded to the point where France may be called totalitarian. The British colonies and dominions, including those sections such as Canada where civil liberties had not previously been curtailed, are now under dictatorships. The suppression of civil rights in Canada and India, in particular, bear out the contention that in the final analysis the waging of war is incompatible with the maintenance of democracy.

It Can't Happen Here?

Threats to civil liberties already appear in the United States. One of these is the Industrial Mobilization Plan. The anti-war movement must disseminate information about the M-Day Plans, especially to the groups which would be most affected by it. The existence of the Plan means that the organization of workers is in jeopardy, that the standard of living of the people would fall; that the future of young people in terms of their chance for jobs and education is seriously menaced.

One of the most dangerous enemies of civil liberties is race prejudice and discrimination which seem to be on the increase in the United States. Many groups in this country have long been denied basic civil rights because of their race. The struggle against war also is a struggle to combat race prejudice.

For many years, the United States has played an unsavory role in the suppression of civil liberties and the repression of national independence movements in such possessions as Puerto Rico, and in supporting dictatorships and anti-democratic movements in Latin America. Civil liberties cannot be seriously defended without opposing the imperialism and its accompanying repression of our own government.

Defense of Democracy Begins at Home

The completely unjustified and ambiguous proclamation of the limited national emergency, the espionage scares, the attacks by the Dies Committee on genuine liberal and labor organizations, and the numerous anti-alien bills indicate the existence of a serious threat to civil liberties in America, which may bring us closer to war and total suppression of civil rights. Therefore, the Youth Committee Against War has a responsibility to participate in vigorous efforts to extend and defend civil liberties. Civil liberties are inseparably linked with economic security, and the greatest danger to their existence is the willingness of a disinherited group to trade liberty for a demagogue's promise of security. Some solution to the chronic ills of unemployment, poverty, and lack of opportunity for youth must be found in order to maintain civil liberties. The best means of helping youth to advance itself economically, and at the same time to build defenses for civil liberties is the organization of young people into independent economic organizations, such as unions, cooperatives, fraternal organizations, and credit unions.

The commission recommends:

1. That members of the Youth Committee participate in the maintenance and extension of local civil liberties, and that they work whenever possible with existing organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers' Defense League, and unemployed organizations such as the Workers' Security Federation.

A New Bill of Rights

2. The organization should work for:

- (a) An anti-lynching bill.
- (b) Diverting the funds appropriated for the Dies Committee to the LaFollette Committee for investigation of civil liberties. We recommend this because we believe that the activities of the Dies Committee are directed primarily toward the defamation of progressive, labor, cooperative, and anti-war groups, in spite of the validity of some of its findings in regard to the activities of the Communist and Fascist groups.
- (c) Urging the United States Government to clarify its stand regarding the conscientious objector, recognizing political, humanitarian, and religious objectors to war.
- (d) Reviewing some of the activities of the F.B.I. for the information of the public.
- (e) Defense of civil liberties for all people and organizations, even those who do not believe in civil liberties.
- (f) Urging the American labor movement to investigate the experience of India and of European labor movements in developing techniques of non-violent resistance under war, threatened war, or fascism.
- (g) Extension of civil liberties in American colonies.
- (h) Support of co-operative laws now in existence, and extension of the co-operative movement in the United States.
- (i) Elimination of poll taxes.

Danger Signals of Totalitarianism

3. We should work against:

- (a) Sedition acts (contained in riders to other bills).
- (b) Anti-alien acts.
- (c) Attacks on labor organizations through councils of agriculture such as the Associated Farmers.
- (d) Unjustified attacks on the National Labor Relations Board.
- (e) Voting laws keeping minor political parties from the ballot.
- (f) The tendency to put army officers into civil government posts.
- (g) Specific cases of racial discrimination, such as restriction on residence, eating, amusements, jobs, transportation, and entrance to schools. We support efforts to remedy specific cases, such as boycotts of discriminating institutions. We support inter-racial organizations, such as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.
- (h) Teachers oath bills.

NEUTRALITY AND WAR TRADE

CHAIRMAN: HAZEL WHITMAN, *Field Secretary*, Youth Committee Against War

RESOURCE

LEADER: PAUL HUTCHINSON, *Managing Editor*, Christian Century

NEUTRALITY legislation is a method of keeping America out of war economically and politically, in order that we may stay out of military warfare. An adequate and sound program of neutrality is, therefore, essential to keep United States from taking the first steps toward war. Any other policy would gear the American economy to a war trade and to a reliance on the victory of one set of belligerents over the other. Not only would this increase the danger of American involvement, but it would not be conducive to the ultimate building of a warless world.

An adequate neutrality legislation must include a mandatory arms embargo on all belligerent nations, adequate cash and carry on goods other than arms on a peace-time quota basis, and no loans and credits to belligerent nations. The present neutrality law, which was written in order to give as much aid as possible to the Allied powers both in Europe and Asia, represents a compromise between the Youth Committee advocacy of a strong neutrality policy and the administration's policy of no neutrality at all. The weakness of such a program lies in its sympathy with the imperialism of Britain and France, and its failure to condemn equally the imperialism of Britain and France as well as Germany, Russia, and Japan.



Strengthen Neutrality Legislation

The present neutrality act, in spite of its inadequacies, should be applied against all the European belligerents immediately. In addition, it is particularly important to condemn the extension by this country of any loans and credits to the belligerents. In the Far East, where the same imperialisms are in operation as in Europe, there is a possibility that the administration will push for legislation directed solely against Japan. This proposal for action against Japan should be opposed unalterably by those who are interested in a genuine neutrality program. As an alternative to unilateral action, the Youth Committee should advocate the application of the neutrality act, strengthened by the arms

embargo, along with more adequate cash and carry provisions in the Far East. This proposal for action against Japan should be opposed unalterably by those who are interested in a genuine neutrality program.

In addition to all this, it is necessary to point out the weaknesses in the present act. The absence of a mandatory arms embargo, the presence of discretionary powers in the hands of the President are dangerous principles against which it is necessary to fight constantly. If the neutrality fight is reopened in Congress, the passage of a neutrality act embodying a mandatory arms embargo and the placing of all other materials on a cash and carry peace-time quota basis should be urged.

Inasmuch as the lure for war profits has always been one of the important causes for American involvement in war, and since the administration pledged that no one would be allowed to profit from war trade secured under the provisions of the present Neutrality Act, the Youth Committee should support legislation aimed at confiscating through taxation such war profits, at the same time warning against allowing these campaigns to be offered as excuses for such plans as the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

While the war referendum amendment should not be considered a panacea for preventing war, it would prove an obstacle in the path of the war machine. Campaigns on the war referendum can offset the feeling of defeatism on the part of the people in believing that war is inevitable, and will serve as an example to the peoples of the warring nations in that the American people are taking such important decisions in their own hands. Because the passage of the war referendum amendment is somewhat remote due to the difficulties involved in amending the Constitution, in the meantime a campaign to get a commitment from Congressmen that they will not vote for a declaration of war should be pressed.

CONSCRIPTION AND MILITARIZATION OF YOUTH

CHAIRMAN: MILO HIMES, *Chairman*, Iowa Intercollegiate Peace Commission

RESOURCE

LEADER: CHARLES BOSS, JR., *Secretary*, World Peace Commission, Methodist Church.

MILITARISM is anti-democratic, brutalizing, destructive of natural wealth and human personality. Its consummation is the conscription of all people for totalitarian war, for war which destroys their liberties and their lives in the struggle for national prestige and personal profit. The Youth Committee Against War opposes militarism in all its forms. It works toward reversing the present trend of militarizing young people.

Governmental youth programs have shown an increasing military influence. R.O.T.C. expansion is pressed, and C.M.T.C. extended. Use of C.C.C., N.Y.A., and C.A.A. for military purposes, and the possible introduction of military training through them, are immediate threats. Gradual introduction of military officers into important civilian posts, such as W.P.A. and Wage-Hour Administration, have accentuated this trend. Young people in their search for education, their desire for recreation, and their struggle for economic survival, are forced into the military machine.

Constructive opposition must substitute for militarism a program of hope and service for young people. Militarism must be opposed as a part of the war system. Growing out of an exploitive economy, it encourages regimentation, suppression, totalitarianism. Expanded militarism means an armaments economy, which lowers living standards and encourages war for oppression and profit. The fight against militarism goes together with the fight for economic security and democratic living.

Mobilize the Anti-Warriors

Group forces as well as individuals must be mobilized to meet the increase of militarization and the threat of conscription. Youth who would fill the armies, workers who would bear the brunt of dictatorship at home, must be organized together to resist effectively.

The fight against war must not cease if war should come despite our efforts. Organized anti-war activities must continue, though they will vary in form as conditions change and group approaches differ. Among the means used in combatting the war by the various Youth Committee groups are: absolute war resistance, reconstruction activities preparing the way for peace, building a mass anti-war movement through struggles for civil liberties and against economic regimentation and suffering, and unity with anti-war forces in all warring countries.

The commission recommends.

1. Emphasis on the student strike as a technique of combatting youth militarization, extending this beyond the student field wherever possible.
2. An educational and legislative campaign to discourage militarization of youth in any field, to be tied up with the campaign against conscription.
3. Endorsement of a program which would help meet youth's need for employment, recreation, and education through a completely non-military program. (The commission discussed specifically the Youth's Economic Needs Campaign.)
4. A vigorous No Conscription Campaign which prepares the ground for mass pressure against industrial and military conscription, and mass resistance if conscription becomes law, the enlisting of the maximum number of young people in the draft age, and non-Y.C.A.W. members in this drive; and the use of the Oxford Pledge to dramatize it.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AND THE INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION PLAN

CHAIRMAN: MARY MOORE, *Assistant Junior Leader, Farmers' Union of Colorado*

RESOURCE

LEADER: DAVID CLENDENIN, *National Secretary, Workers' Defense League*

TODAY certain rights to which workers in a democracy are entitled are largely denied. Among these are the right to work, the right to a real wage that achieves a decent standard of living, the right to strike with compensation, the right to an education, the right to equal treatment before the law, the right to a living annual income. It is necessary to broaden the scope of our democracy in order to insure greater freedom in economic, political, and social life.

War is of special concern to workers both because they, more than any other group, bear the brunt of its consequences, and because they are a powerful force in the struggle against war and oppression. During the last war, labor organizations in the United States were almost completely frozen. Agreements were made to stop further organizing and to forbid strikes, with the result that union membership remained static. Those labor organizations and workers who actively opposed the war, such as the I.W.W., were crushed by the prosecutions of the federal government.



The war raised wages, but the rise in the cost of living was out of proportion to the rise in wage rates, making the real income of workers smaller. After the war, wages declined rapidly while the drop in the cost of living was relatively slow. In May 1917 — almost three years after the start of the war and one month after the United States went in — the union hourly wages were 14% higher than they were in May 1913. This represented a 14% increase in hourly wages BUT the *cost of food had gone up 56% in the same period.* The economic breakdown of our economy, greatly accelerated and aggravated by the war, has been disastrous to workers, leaving in its wake unemployment and insecurity.

Blueprint for Fascism

The building up of a huge armed force is an immediate threat to workers' rights, not only in developing an arms economy, but because it may be used against workers at home. The principle of martial law is similar to the use of

the army abroad in that martial law is used to protect vested interest at home and the army is used to protect vested interests abroad.

The Industrial Mobilization Plan, which is the Administration-approved War Department plan for universal industrial and military conscription, would be invoked immediately upon declaration of war by the United States. The Plan would, if put into effect, necessarily strike hardest at organized labor in its drastic regimentation to assure "efficient" war production, but it would also affect other important social groupings — the farmers, unemployed, professionals, and youth in general, depriving them of the rights of choice of work or freedom of expression.

The Industrial Mobilization Plan would regiment workers and crush the power of trade unions. Strikes would be impossible, wages and hours would be regulated according to the needs of prosecuting the war and not to the needs of the worker, the government would give war orders to companies with poor labor standards, workers' rights would be completely gone. The occasion would be used as an excuse for reactionary forces to strike at the trade unions, with the power of the federal government backing up anti-labor forces. It is, therefore, necessary that labor organizations take a lead in the fight against M-Day plans.

No M-Day In Our Time

The commission recommends:

1. That we oppose any change in the Wagner Labor Relations Act that may detract from the rights of labor already granted by the Act, or in any way hindering the rights of collective bargaining.
2. That we decry the techniques used by the Smith Committee in discrediting members of the National Labor Relations Board in an attempt to raise opposition to the Wagner Labor Relations Act.
3. That we favor the extension of the appropriations which would make it possible to enlarge the staff and other necessary facilities to administer properly the Fair Labor Standards Act. We also recommend the progressive elimination of differentials based on locale, and the extension of the act to include all wage-earners.
4. That we urge the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment.
5. That we support the extension of covered workers under the Social Security Act, and that the Federal Government should change the qualifying rules to state that appropriations would be withheld if strikers were not given compensation. We also favor lowering the percentage of workers' payments for old-age benefits, and recommend that a uniform practice be established to remove discrimination against workers because of race, creed, or color.
6. That Labor Unions wherever possible establish Youth Auxiliaries to promote an understanding of the labor movement among young people.

7. That we urge the passage of an American Youth Act, which will guarantee economic security to our young people both urban and rural who are not at present gainfully employed.
8. That there be included in Union contracts a clause stating the determination of workers to strike in the event of participation by the United States government in any war, and the determination to strike against the use of machinery used in the production of war materials, regardless of the position of the United States government.
9. That we condemn the Industrial Mobilization Plan, and stress the importance of combatting such plans now.

ALTERNATIVES TO ARMAMENTS ECONOMICS

CHAIRMAN: MARY M. CUTHBERTSON, *Metropolitan Student Secretary, Chicago Y.W.C.A.*

RESOURCE

LEADERS: MICHAEL HARRIS, *Sub-Regional Director, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, Pennsylvania*
WARREN NELSON, *State Secretary, Wisconsin Farmers Equity Union*

WILLARD MARTINSON, *New America*

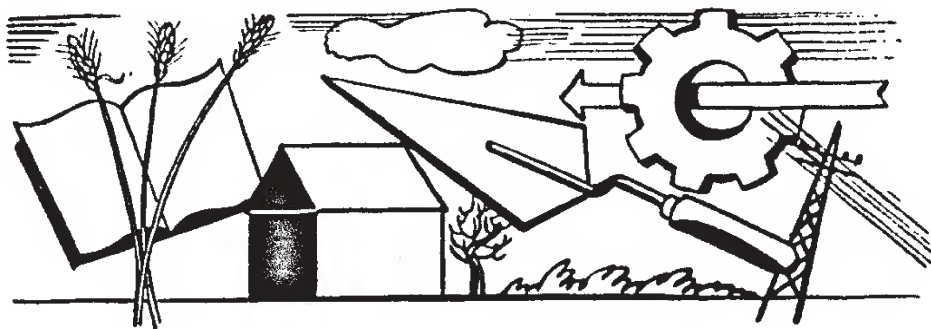
TO keep America out of war, her economic institutions must also be kept out of war. Millions spent on "national defense" help to build up an armaments economy by stimulating production and expansion in basic industries, by gearing industries not directly engaged in war enterprise into the war machine because of their dependence on the basic industries, by building up capital goods industries at the expense of consumers' goods industries, by creating a rise in prices which may lead to a disastrous inflation, by cutting down public expenditures on peace-time, productive industries such as housing and public works projects, by giving millions of dollars and offering workers a vested interest in the continuance of a war machine. Investment in armaments brings no returns but death. It creates an economy which must eventually face a depression or go to war on the side to whose success it has been geared. An arms economy, such as England, France, Germany, and Russia must employ, in the last analysis means suppression of every civil right in the interests of the war machine, and forms an economic basis for totalitarianism.

Starve the War and Feed America

It is not necessary or inevitable that the United States become geared to the war machine. Government expenditures should be turned to peace-time expansion to help fulfill the needs of the people. The building of strong cooperative movements will decrease the danger of progressively lower standard of living; trade unions can help to defeat the economic drive toward war;

expenditures on public works, adequate medical care, relief, better educational facilities, and other non-military and socially useful projects will help to check the drive. Youth, facing a future of war and poverty, is especially concerned with an economic drive for peace. Youth needs jobs in peace-time industries and security from the threat of war and unemployment.

These are things which can be offered as immediate alternatives to an arms economy. In the long run, we must look toward a more adequate solution of the problems of war and poverty, for a nation which suffers from the continual pressures of unemployment, insecurity, and depression cannot remain permanently at peace.



The commission recommends:

1. An expanded N.Y.A. program with the emphasis on education and cultural work rather than military training.
2. A national housing program adequate to provide decent housing for all of our people. This would stimulate production in the heavy goods industries and provide increased employment in the building trades.
3. A federal program for the conservation of natural resources.
4. Nationalization of railroads.
5. Extension of the T.V.A. yardstick principle into other monopolistic industries where possible.
6. A federal health program for those who cannot pay for medical and dental care.
7. Increased federal aid to states for education. This aid should be given without domination by the federal government, on the basis of need. Funds should be given and used without racial discrimination.
8. Extension of the Rural Electrification Administration program.
9. The maintenance and extension of a federal program for employment.

ROADS TO A WARLESS WORLD

CHAIRMAN: ALBERT HAMILTON

RESOURCE

LEADERS: CLARENCE SENIOR, Information Center of the America's
Representative of German anti-Nazi Movement
Representative of Canadian Commonwealth Youth Movement.

REGINALD SINGH, Indian National Congress

THE struggle against war is a world-wide struggle against the forces that make for war. This struggle goes on in the confines of each nation, and the movements that arise to deal with the different national forces asking for war must be linked together if the world struggle against war is to succeed.

Nationalism, imperialism, militarism, and totalitarianism, are the main forces that stand in the way of a peaceful world order. Their separate manifestations are many; colonies, ruthless subjugation of national minorities, control of small countries (in South America, for example) through foreign capital, production of war materials. The struggle against these forces and manifestations of these forces while conducted on a national basis is internationalist in character. Inevitably the movements that carry on these struggles find themselves opposed to existing political structures, specific ruling classes, existing empires.



People's Movements for a Warless World

The contribution of the colonial freedom and anti-imperialist movements to the struggle against war is a weakening of imperialism and of ruling classes in existing empires. There can be no world order without justice, and a prerequisite for justice in the world is freedom for peoples who are exploited by foreign nations either through political control, economic penetration or superior military might.

The successful conclusion of the struggles of the anti-nazi, and anti-fascist and anti-totalitarian movements will be a great aid to the establishment of peace. If successful their contribution will be the establishment of internal regimes in the fascist and totalitarian nations which can act for world peace, because the control of these nations has been restored to the masses of people.

The anti-war movements at present functioning in the Allied nations make their contribution to the establishment of world order through a struggle against imperialism and the controlling groups who follow a course in world affairs based on the preservation of empire. Their success inevitably is bound up with the success of the anti-fascist and anti-totalitarian movements. They are the most important aids to the struggles of the colonial peoples.

Today the United States has its expression of economic imperialism in South America, its military imperialism in the Pacific Islands, and its imperialists interests and connections in the Far East.

Hopes, Blueprints, Movements for a World Order

The second part of the commission was devoted to hearing spokesmen for various groups present their "hopes, and blueprints" for world reorganization. John Van de Water, spoke for Union Now. William Lloyd spoke for the Campaign for World Government, Jack Sessions spoke for world Socialist organization.

The following recommendations were passed by the Congress:

1. Statement on Internationalism:

A true peace movement can only arise from within the countries of the world, and cannot be superimposed by any external force. This commission recognizes the necessity of political unity of nations and peoples based on economic and social equity as opposed to the forces and philosophies acting for nationalism and isolationism. However, we recognize that nationalism is constructive as long as it meets the needs of the people at home. It acts destructively when it is used to obtain profits from new foreign markets or bolsters the semi-monopolistic protection of the old ones in the interest of investment capitalists. We sympathize with movements for colonial freedom, anti-imperialism, and underground anti-totalitarianism in so far as they agree with these principles. We believe that democracy must be restored to Germany not by invading armies, but rather by the determination of the German people. We oppose any U. S. military, diplomatic, or financial intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries.

2. The National Office shall give the names and addresses of those organizations and people deserving of our support. These shall include the colonial freedom, and anti-imperialist, movements, the underground anti-nazi and anti-totalitarian movements, anti-war and movements of C.O.'s.

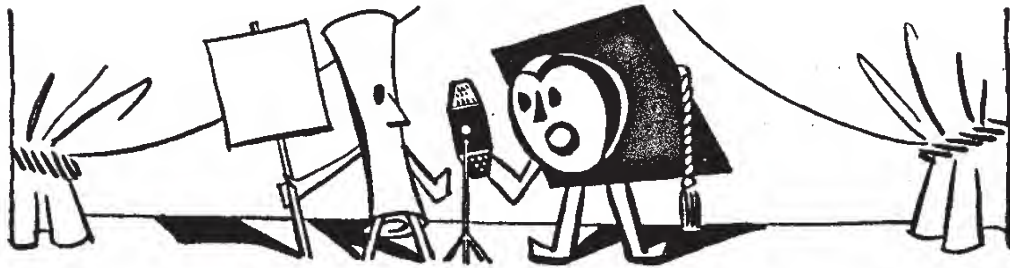
3. We urge aid both at home and abroad to war refugees, we urge support of non-partisan civilian relief projects such as are being carried on by the American Friends Service Committee.

4. Resolution on Mediation: Since general ruin will follow for European civilization if the war continues; and since small nations will be continuously jeopardized and since the destruction will be even worse if the war on land really begins; and since France is virtually fascist already; and since the prolongation of the war makes American involvement ever more likely; it is of

enormous importance that continuous pressure by the government and the people of the United States be exerted for an immediate truce and the setting up of machinery for negotiations, but we do not want proposals for stopping the war used as an excuse for drawing the United States into war. We are under no illusions as to the impossibility of securing a just and lasting peace without far-reaching changes in the world economic order, but we believe that any end to this war is better than its continuation.

ANTI-WAR WORK IN THE COLLEGES

CHAIRMAN: J. OLCUTT SANDERS, *Field Secretary*, Student
Peace Service



ON college and university campuses, where the student populations represent an important element in the youth anti-war struggle, the Youth Committee offers two possible methods of organization. Either it may function as a separate, independent organization, or it may coordinate the activities of existing peace groups that accept the Youth Committee program. Each organizational set-up must, of course, be adapted to the needs of the individual campus.

In developing the Youth Committee as a cooperating agency for college peace groups, it is necessary to be aware of the dangers of including any organization whose position is not fundamentally anti-war. Not only might this bring disrepute to the Youth Committee but it would seriously interfere with the successful promotion of an anti-war program. It should be emphasized that there can be no room for cooperation with those groups whose "peace" policy grows out of their sympathy with one or another of the belligerents. Regardless of the organizational composition of the chapter, though, it is important that every individual must feel a personal responsibility for carrying out the work of the Youth Committee program.

There are a number of effective ways of carrying out an educational campaign in connection with college anti-war work. Some of the methods that have been used include speeches; play production; small study groups, meeting as

educational and fellowship units; discussion groups; radio programs; and peace balls as opposed to the military ball — “peace at half the price.” A unified and well rounded program is important — one that interlocks education with action through the occasional use of mass demonstrations, such as Armistice Day programs, the student strike, etc.

The observance of the Student Strike Against War will be particularly important this year as a technique for demonstrating the strength of American youth's opposition to war. Its history is linked closely with the whole student anti-war movement, and its place as a dress rehearsal for what youth proposes to do in time of war has always had a real significance. It should be more than a mass demonstration, however, since its effectiveness depends largely upon the soundness of the educational job that accompanies it. In order to stress the real anti-war character of the strike, Youth Committee chapters should take the initiative in organizing and planning it, and should emphasize the need for pushing the full Youth Committee program against war, without compromise on the basic issues.

In a sense, the very strength and militancy of the 1940 strike will be a thermometer of the strength and militancy of the student movement. Washington will be watching the student strike for a gauge of opposition to militarization among American young people. A good strike will lessen the possibility of immediate militarization. Students in other countries, particularly where there are strong student movements, will be waiting to see how much opposition American youth will make to the war plans of its government. Young people all over America who have never participated in an organized struggle to keep America out of war will be encouraged and brought into contact with us through a good strike.

The strike is called in April because it was in that month that the United States entered the World War. It is a discipline by which we gain in organizational and spiritual strength and power for the struggle which lies ahead. It is a technique which is as old as man's struggles against injustice; a technique used in biblical times, and a technique used by Gandhi in India. It signifies not just a stoppage of normal activity, a renewed dedication of not just an isolated group, but of students all over the country to the fight against war, an expression of the oneness of all American youth in their determination to keep America out of war.

Closely connected with the development of the anti-war strike has been the now famous Oxford pledge, a resolve “not to support the government in any war it may undertake.” The importance of this pledge is to demonstrate to all those who would lead the government into war the sincerity and conviction of youth in opposing such a war. It adds to the dramatic and militant quality of the strike, and it strengthens the feeling of unity among the students everywhere who take the pledge. Its use should be seriously considered in the planning of the most successful kind of strike.

COMMISSION ON ANTI-WAR WORK IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS

CHAIRMAN: EMMA HARTOG, *Executive Secretary*, Jane Addams
Peace School

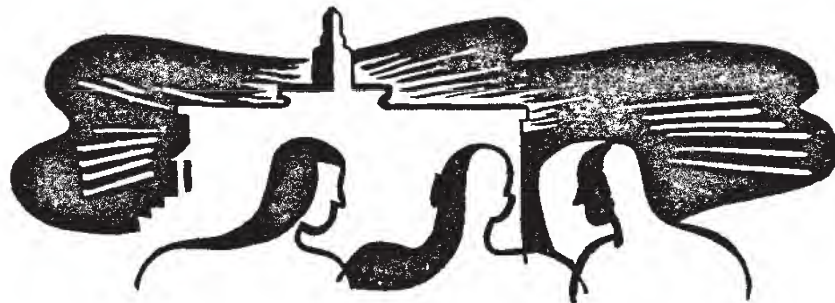
HIGH SCHOOL students are, as a rule, particularly interested in certain points of the Youth Committee Against War Program. The campaign for youth's economic needs, opposition to Junior R.O.T.C. and the combatting of war propaganda have claimed their attention in many cases. These students should concentrate on specific campaigns, centered about these issues, but dependent upon the needs of the particular locality.

The ideal condition for High School anti-war work is found where Youth Committee chapters may be set up with administration sanction. Because this is usually difficult, anti-war action must exist on two fronts:

(1) Within the schools, where debating societies, peace and propaganda analysis clubs, or discussion groups exist. Where they do not exist, the possibility of their formation may be examined.

(2) Outside of the school, where Youth Committee chapters may be developed without interference. These groups may carry on the job of getting sympathetic speakers into the school, and may investigate the possibility of using school newspapers for publicity and peace propaganda.

It should be recognized by the Youth Committee that high school students are particularly interested in certain points of the eight point program, namely: the promotion of the campaign for youth's economic needs and opposition to the Junior R.O.T.C. By their very position in the schools, it follows that high school students who belong to the Youth Committee should concentrate on specific campaigns dependent on the needs of the particular locality but directed primarily against the Junior R.O.T.C. (in cooperation with the Committee on Militarism in Education) and the combatting of war propaganda.



CHURCH YOUTH AGAINST WAR

CHAIRMAN: FRANK LITTELL, *Social Action Chairman*, National Council of Methodist Youth

RESOURCE

LEADERS: PAUL WORLEY, *Southern Youth Crusade*
DAVID BLICKENSTAFF, *Delegate from Church of the Brethren*
DONOVAN SMUCKER, *Youth Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation*
J. MAXWELL ADAMS, *Student Work of the Presbyterian Church*
TOM KEEHN, *National Secretary, Pilgrim Fellowship*

CHURCH youth should be primarily concerned with the fight against war and for a vital and lasting peace, because of the emphasis that Jesus and other religious leaders have placed on the value of the individual personality, because of the attitude developed through the Christian teachings regarding human need and human suffering, both spiritual and economic, and because of the fact that the war method is destructive and makes impossible the attainment of any good end. Of vital concern to all church groups should be the matter of personal discipline and the personal refusal to participate in violence.

In developing a sound educational program that will assist church people by giving them the knowledge upon which to base their decisions, the value of religious as well as secular education should be emphasized. From this beginning, religious groups must move into the field of action against war. The need for peace education exists not only among the youth groups of the churches, but the adult and ministerial groups as well. A special effort has been made in certain sections to educate ministers for active peace work. One of the most effective methods has been found to be through the conducting of seminars in connection with city-wide ministerial associations.

Specific contributions to the cause of peace can most successfully be carried on in church groups through distribution of literature, through well-organized and competently-staffed speakers' bureaus, panel discussions, or drama groups to present peace plays to various local churches. Student Peace Service has been active in the training and placing of volunteers in the field during the summer months. Further service is being sponsored by the Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in sending workers to aid in relief, reconciliation, reconstruction work, and in aiding the refugees. Summer conferences are another important avenue of church peace work.

Affiliation by church groups with the Youth Committee would be a great aid in providing a coordinating body, and also in providing a dynamic action

group in which it may participate. A more definite appeal to the churches on the part of the Youth Committee would facilitate this, and where national a great aid in providing a coordinating body, and also in providing a dynamic action group in which it may participate. A more definite appeal to the churches on the part of the Youth Committee would facilitate this, and where national representative bodies may not be able to affiliate, members can be secured from the local and regional groups of the various denominations.

ANTI-WAR WORK BY THE Y.W.C.A.

CHAIRMAN: GARINEH NARZAKIAN, *Chairman*, Industrial
Committee, Philadelphia Y.W.C.A.

THE Y.W.C.A. covers a broad field of student, industrial and professional girls who are actively interested in social problems. These young women can be active and effective against war, one of the major problems to which the Y.W. has always given particular attention; and they can be doubly effective if their efforts are coupled with those of other anti-war forces in the United States.

Means of arousing the interest of Association groups in current affairs, and of giving association groups a full picture of world events and peace activities, were the primary considerations of the Y.W.C.A. Commission. They discussed the Public Affairs program of the Y.W., how it is formulated and changed, and what relationship it has to local activity.

A program for furthering anti-war work in the Y.W.C.A. and stimulating the interest of members in the work of the Youth Committee Against War specifically, would include:

1. The National Public Affairs Committee of the Y.W.C.A. should be asked to make available information on all points of view in the field of peace in its publications, study suggestions, and other material.
2. Y.C.A.W. members in local Y.W. groups should constantly try to see that their clubs and other membership groups are aware of peace and war issues, and that the individuals in these groups become involved in anti-war work.
 - (a) Reports of Y.C.A.W. work should be sent into the various publications of the Y.W.C.A. by members of both.
 - (b) Interested members of the Y.W.C.A. should be involved in Y.C.A.W. work, receive Y.C.A.W. material and be asked to become members of the Committee.
 - (c) Youth Committee members should be articulate about their anti-war beliefs at conferences, assemblies and conventions.

CITY-WIDE YOUTH COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION

CHAIRMAN: TOM JONES, *Ohio Secretary, Youth Committee
Against War*

CITY WIDE organization for the Youth Committee is essential in mobilizing youth in the struggle against war and oppression. City-wide organizations coordinate the activities of church, labor, and other groups outside the student field. Such Youth Committees now exist in a number of important cities, and an effort should be made to consolidate these groups and to extend the Youth Committee to cities where it does not now exist.

City Youth Committees can best be built by planned campaigns such as that on the war referendum, taxing war profits, protesting reductions in social welfare expenditures in favor of increased armaments, etc. by organizing pressure campaigns around specific issues to write or wire Congressmen, planning mass meetings.

The commission recommends:

1. That city-wide groups be organized on a basis of functioning community Youth Committees with delegates from high schools and colleges in the city and from all other cooperating organizations;
2. That city-wide committees set up bureaus for the use of local groups and for mass meetings, and that the Youth Committee extend its influence and membership by touring-speakers who shall visit schools, churches, unions, and other organizations in the city;
3. That city-wide Youth Committees publish a regular mimeographed bulletin containing articles and organizational news as a means of building a more cohesive organization, and that the National Office arrange an exchange system for the various local bulletins and that also regular mimeographed organizational bulletins be sent out with reports of city Youth Committee activity;
4. That city-wide Youth Committees introduce a local dues system, with dues books if feasible, and that members be approached for making pledges to a weekly or monthly sustaining fund;
5. That city-wide Youth Committees, if they do not already have a regional organizer, consider the possibility of employing a part- or full-time organizer.

Activities of various existing city-wide Youth Committees may be suggestive of like activities in newly organized communities. One of these is the sponsoring of peace schools which are usually conducted over a several-month period, with classes held one or more evenings a week. Another is sponsoring radio broadcasts over the local radio station, either on special occasions, or regularly. Still another is organizing a dramatics group of the Youth Committee which presents peace plays and skits for Youth Committee meetings as well as for church groups and other community organizations.

Besides seeking to reach new groups of young people, the Youth Committee in a city serves to stimulate those cooperating groups which are already committed to work for peace. This is done through public meetings, demonstrations, radio programs, newspaper publicity, letters, telegrams, and petitions sent to Washington.

FARM GROUPS AND COOPERATIVES

CHAIRMAN: MARY JO UPHOFF, *Director of Education, Farmers Equity Union of Wisconsin*

RESOURCE

LEADERS: WARREN NELSON, *State Secretary, F. U. of Wisc.*
E. R. BOWEN, *Secretary, Cooperative League of America*

THE historic position of farm and cooperative organizations is one of non-violence and internationalism, hence there is a real basis for anti-war work through these groups, through their pamphlets, discussion groups and educational programs. The principles of cooperation, supported actively by American farm organizations, are based upon racial and religious equality, as well as political neutrality, and help to strengthen this basis. The most direct relation of farm and cooperative organizations to the problems of peace and war is through their attempts to develop a social order which does not require the use of war. They recognize, however, that certain immediate steps are necessary to block the present trends toward war.

As co-operators, we would stress the importance of co-operative recreation and of the cultural contributions of all nations through the use of international folk songs, games and folk dances. Realizing that the essence of democracy lies in the democratic functioning of its smallest units, we urge the formation of local discussion groups which shall recognize responsibility for local problems as well as state, national, and international issues.

We recommend to the members of farm and co-operative organizations that they familiarize themselves with the peace activities in their communities and join in them to the extent that it is compatible with their co-operative

ideals. In the present world situation it becomes increasingly important that members of farm and co-operative groups lend their support to the anti-war movement. Where such activities are not carried on, it should be the responsibility of members to initiate peace activities using as a base the largest possible community participation including other economic organizations such as unions and unemployed groups, as well as the student, church, and other organizations that are concerned with problems of war and peace. Wherever feasible, individuals can affiliate with national organizations the aims and ideals of which are in accord with their personal needs, interests and conscience.



UNIONISTS AND THOSE PLANNING TO WORK WITH LABOR GROUPS

CHAIRMAN: DOUGLAS ANDERSON, *Midwest Organizer, Textile Workers Union of America*

WORKERS must necessarily play an important part in the fight against war, not only because they must bear the burdens imposed by war, but primarily because a government at war would deprive them of the right to organize and to strike, and would undermine the effectiveness of their unions as economic organizations. For the unemployed, war would mean the curtailment of relief funds and the loss of necessary social legislation. Although the fundamental causes of war may ultimately be removed only through a social order based upon production for use, there are some immediate steps which must be taken in strengthening labor's struggle against war.

The commission recommends:

1. Organization of the unorganized, since it is through the unions that the most effectual anti-war work can be done.
2. Immediate organized opposition to the Industrial Mobilization Plan and to the proposed taxation on low incomes for arms appropriation purposes.
3. Maintenance of socially necessary agencies such as the W.P.A. and N.Y.A.

4. Action against those engaged in war profiteering, with the following suggested measures: participating in consumers' co-ops' boycott of profiteering merchants or companies, etc.
5. General anti-war work within the union, using such techniques as anti-war plays, posters, publication of anti-war material in union bulletins and in labor papers, discussions of cost of living records as changes occur, and a general educational program to bring about an understanding of labor's role in the war.
6. The inclusion in union contracts with companies of a clause stating that the question of wages will be reopened as the cost of living increases.
7. Participation in Labor's Anti-War Council, with the formation of youth auxiliaries, looking toward affiliation with the Youth Committee Against War.
8. All youth interested in anti-war work offer their services to labor unions in the carrying out of this work.



COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

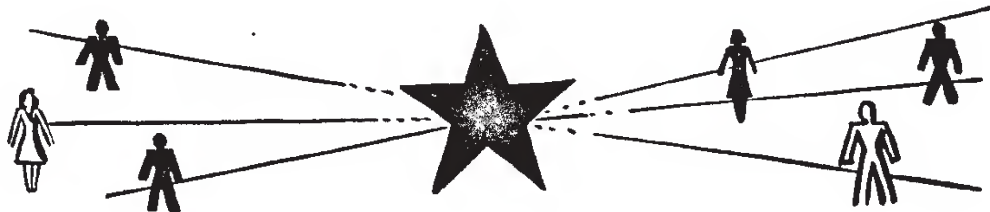
CHAIRMAN: PEG CALBECK, *Former Co-chairman, National Inter-collegiate Christian Council*

CONSCIOUS of the determination of American youth that the United States shall not follow Europe into the tragedies of totalitarian war, and realizing the number of youth organizations who are anxious to combat this trend, the Youth Committee Against War unites young people around a common program of action upon which all can agree.

The Youth Committee Against War coordinates the anti-war activities of its affiliates in order to make them most efficient and effective. It does not restrict affiliated organizations in the scope of their activities. They have the right to develop their own full programs in opposing war, militarism, imperialism and fascism, as well as other points in their programs.

Organizations of and including youth, both national and local, which subscribe to and are ready to actively support the full program of the Youth

Committee Against War, are urged to affiliate and participate. Organizations which cannot affiliate but are anxious to cooperate in specific activities are welcome to work with the Youth Committee Against War. Individuals are welcomed as members on the basis of subscribing to the full program of the Youth Committee Against War.



The Youth Committee does not run or endorse candidates for public office but promotes legislative policies which advance the Youth Committee program both during campaigns and throughout the year.

Organization of the Youth Committee

The following is a summary of the organizational structure approved by the Congress:

1. There shall be an annual national Congress of the Youth Committee open to individuals and to groups who subscribe to the nine point program. This Congress shall be the highest planning and policy making body of the Youth Committee.
2. There shall be a National Council elected by the Congress. It shall meet at least twice a year, and shall control policy between Congresses. It shall direct policy between Congresses through at least two meetings a year, and by mail consultation with the National Action Committee.
3. There shall be a National Action Committee elected by the National Council in consultation with the national affiliated and cooperating organizations. It contains at least 10 members and each national affiliate is represented by at least one member. It meets at least twice a month in New York to advise the staff, and to prepare plans and campaigns. It is responsible to the National Council.
4. The National Action Committee shall work with organizations which apply for cooperation on certain points of the program. It will invite discussion and a vote on those matters with which the organization is concerned.
5. Affiliation of any organization shall be on the basis of its acceptance of the full program of the Youth Committee Against War. Yearly fees are \$15.00 for national organizations, \$3.00 for regional organizations, \$1.00 for local organizations.
6. Membership is open to any individual who accepts the full program of the Youth Committee Against War. Members of affiliated organizations are auto-

matically members of the Youth Committee, upon their affirmation of support for the program of the Youth Committee, and their pledge of three hours service weekly in anti-war work. Affiliated organizations will urge such members to become sustaining members of the Youth Committee by the payment of the 50c yearly fee for *News Bulletin* and services.

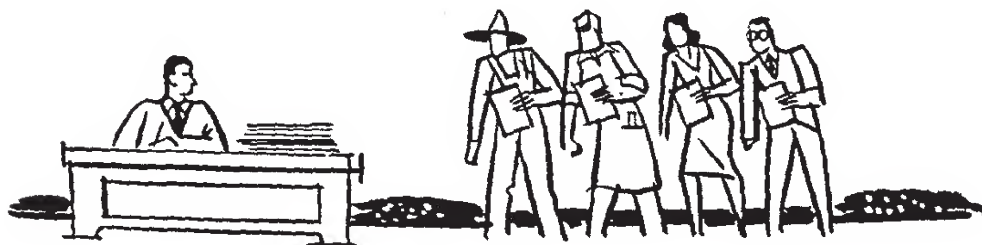
7. Federated structures, on a regional or city-wide scale, which use the name "Youth Committee Against War" shall include representatives of local organizations which adhere to the program of the Youth Committee.

8. Individual membership clubs shall be organized to carry out the Youth Committee program.

9. A National Education Service shall be set up as a sub-committee of the National Council. It is to publish a periodic *News Letter*, recommend books, articles, material for local education programs, publish study outlines, and sponsor lecture tours.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN: HERMAN WILL, Jr., *President*, National Council
of Methodist Youth



OVER 2,205,500 American young people were directly represented at the National Youth Anti-War Congress. The 458 in attendance came from thirty-one states: California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia and Wisconsin.

National Organizations represented both as delegates and observers included Christian Youth Council of North America, Campaign for World Government, Church of the Brethren Young Peoples Department, Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement of Canada, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Labor Anti-War Council, National Council of Methodist Youth, National Inter-collegiate Council I.F.U., New America, Young Peoples section of the Protestant

Episcopal Church, Pilgrim Fellowship, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Universalist Church, the Youth Crusade of the Southern Methodist Church, Student Peace Service of the American Friends Service Committee, War Resisters League, Workers Defense League, Young Peoples Socialist League, Committee on Mobilization, Cooperative League of America, Independent Labor League of America, New Western Front.

Delegates from religious organizations included besides those mentioned above those from local Epworth League groups of the Methodist Church, local representatives from the Student Christian Movement, from the Bethany Biblical Society, Baptist Student Group from University of Wisconsin, University of Chicago Divinity School, Hazen Foundation of the University of Michigan, Interchurch Youth Forum, Religious Problems Council of Chapel Union at the University of Chicago, Society of Friends in Frankfort, many Student Christian Associations, Yale Divinity School, and other religious organizations.

Indicative of strong labor support for the Youth Committee were representatives of farm-labor organizations such as the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of Wisconsin and South Dakota, and the Farmers Equity Union of Wisconsin; of labor delegates from locals of such organizations as the United Automobile Workers of America C.I.O., and the Textile Workers Union of America; of labor-fraternal organizations such as Young Circle League branches; of unemployed organizations such as the Workers Security Federation.

The largest representation was from the middlewest with the smallest group from the south. Out of the 242 delegates, 90 of these were from student groups, four of whom were high-school students; 49 were from peace organizations; 46 from religious groups; 20 from political organizations; 19 from labor groups; 10 from farm groups; and 8 from youth forums and clubs. There was a large group from student and religious organizations who were sent as visitors and observers.

Totals were: delegates, 242; observers, 118; visitors, 98; total in attendance, 458.

PROGRAM OF THE YOUTH COMMITTEE AGAINST WAR

CHAIRMAN: JOHN SWOMLEY, *New England Secretary*, Fellowship of Reconciliation

THE United States must not follow Europe into the tragedies of totalitarian war, for democracy perishes when war begins. Our greatest contribution to world peace is in the preservation and extension of democracy in the United States. This is necessary if the United States is not to follow the footsteps of the totalitarian and war-making nations. War will make America one huge concentration camp. Youth must act while there is yet time. To the end of progressing toward a fuller democracy we pledge ourselves in the following program:



1. A HALT TO THE STEADY MILITARIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES. The army, navy, and national guard are instruments of aggression, oppression, and intimidation at home and abroad. Militarism and propaganda for "national defense" can aid only in mental mobilization for war and totalitarianism. We are against totalitarianism in all its forms — the fascism of Italy and Germany, the war-dictatorships of Britain and France, the dictatorial systems of Japan and Russia, the steady encroachment on American liberties. We will work to end the ROTC and to remove the Civilian Aeronautic Administration and the CCC from army control.
2. AN END TO THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN DOLLARS AT THE RISK OF AMERICAN LIVES. Economic coercion, armed occupation of and interference with the internal affairs of other nations mean use of governmental power to preserve economic advantage at the risk of involvement in war.
3. PASSAGE OF A GENUINE WAR REFERENDUM AMENDMENT. Democratic decision concerning war is no panacea, but taking the question of war and peace into our own hands will serve as an example and precedent to the peoples of the world and will form an obstacle in the path of the war machine.
4. REJECTION OF INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE CONCEPT OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. We reject all alliances and proposals which might involve use of the government war machine, either for defense of

imperialist gain or for intervention to prevent the self-determination of other peoples. Justice rests not upon the threat or use of military power, but rather upon the ability of the masses of the world to confer and achieve without fear of coercion a common solution of their problems. Democracy cannot be exported at the end of bayonets.

5. **ABANDONMENT OF ALL MOBILIZATION PLANS.** The adoption and enforcement of mobilization day plans will bring a dictatorship as brutal and as far-reaching as any existing today. Mental preparation for suppression in the event of war will hasten our entrance into the war. We demand the exemption from conscription of political, humanitarian, and religious objectors to war.

6. **ENDORSEMENT OF THE STUDENT STRIKE AGAINST WAR.** We favor extension of the student strike to all sections of the youth anti-war movement. We urge use of the Oxford pledge: "We refuse to support the government in any war it may undertake."

7. **PROMOTION OF ALTERNATIVES TO ARMAMENTS ECONOMICS AT HOME.** The first steps toward social justice and security within our immediate society demands jobs for unemployed, a living income for farmers and workers, adequate youth aid legislation, decent housing and educational and recreational opportunity. An economy based upon ever increasing armaments cannot satisfy the domestic needs of the people. We urge participation in farm, labor, and unemployed organizations, and producers and consumers cooperatives on the basis of democracy as safeguards against our involvement in war abroad and fascism at home. These opportunities must be open to all races.

8. **ADVANCEMENT OF REAL INTERNATIONALISM BASED ON PEACE AND JUSTICE.** The future of world peace lies not in the struggle for power between states but in the common action of the people of each nation to create the conditions for economic and social reconstruction. We recognize the necessity of political unity of nations and peoples based on economic and social equity as opposed to the forces and philosophies acting for nationalism and isolationism. We support movements for democracy and for colonial freedom, against imperialism and for freedom in totalitarian countries. But democracy cannot be imposed upon a nation from the outside and must arise from the people themselves. We call for elimination of restriction on world trade and for aid to oppressed refugees through lowering the barriers which prevent their immigration. We shall cooperate with world peace, labor, and cooperative movements in establishing a peace based on the needs of the people.

9. **STRENGTHENING AND APPLICATION OF PRESENT NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION.** We favor the strengthening and application of neutrality legislation to all wars now raging in the world. We favor the enactment of an embargo upon war materials to all nations now at war, and the placing upon a peace time quota basis exports of non-war materials to belligerent nations and to nations which permit trans-shipment to belligerents. We demand that no goods be shipped to belligerents until they have been paid for, title taken to them, and they are transported in foreign owned ships.

OFFICERS AND STAFF

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VICE-CHAIRMEN

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JEFFREY CAMPBELL, *Wales*, Great Britain

HAROLD CHANCE, *Director*, Student Peace Service of the American Friends Service Committee

JAMES FARMER, *Vice-President*, United Christian Youth Movement

MARY FORMAN, *Representative*, National Intercollegiate Christian Council

ALBERT HAMILTON, *Executive Secretary*, Labor Anti-War Council

TOM KEEHN, *Secretary*, National Council of the Pilgrim Fellowship (Congregational)

MINNIE LURYE, *Chairman*, Local 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

ROY McCORKEL, *Secretary*, Interseminary Movement

DONOVAN SMUCKER, *Youth Secretary*, Fellowship of Reconciliation

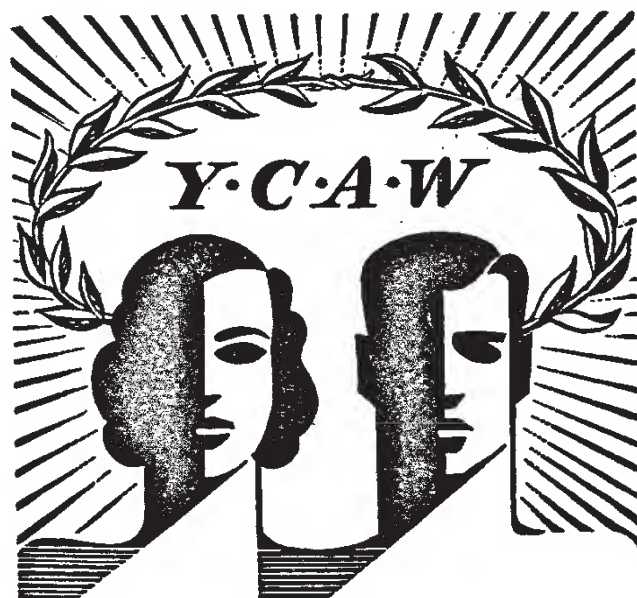
MARY JO UPHOFF, *Educational Director*, Wisconsin Farmers Union

FAY BENNETT, *Executive Secretary*

HAZEL WHITMAN, *Field Secretary*

TOM JONES, *Acting Assistant Secretary*

KENNETH CUTHBERTSON, *Midwest Secretary*



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(This list is not complete when the Proceedings go to press. A complete list can be obtained by writing to the National Office of the Youth Committee Against War.)